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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on an aspect of a larger curriculum historical inquiry into the links between adolescence, schooling, and the English/literacy subjects in South Australian government schools. Another interest in the paper is how the "problem" of the care and control of the adolescent could be linked to issues of (il)literacy. The paper focuses on its author's historical investigations into the education of adolescents before they were generally known by that label and before the term literacy had strong currency. It examines adolescence as an artifact of various projects and technologies at different times and places. The practices and techniques which are the focus of the study reported in the paper are those connected with the human technologies of schooling and the English/literacy curriculum. The paper provides a brief survey of the practices in relation to the first of the five investigation pathways suggested by N. Rose--considering how the adolescent in the first decades of the 20th century in South Australia came to be seen as "problematic." It concentrates on the field of education as the site for these practices and the discourses that constitute adolescence in relation to that field. The paper states that the main data source was the "Education Gazette" published between 1900 and 1920. (NKA)

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Schooling adolescence: The student subject of post-primary education in early twentieth century South Australia

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This paper reports on an aspect of a larger curriculum historical inquiry into the links between adolescence, schooling and the English/literacy subjects in South Australian government schools. The starting point for my inquiry arose out of an interest in the contemporary movement of middle schooling built on a construction of adolescence strongly informed by psychological and medical discourses of adolescent 'needs' and risks . I had also noticed, given my background as a literacy educator, how the 'problem' of the care and control of the adolescent could be linked to issues of (il)literacy. A classic case of such a tying together of the problem adolescent and literacy came for me in a press release by the then new Commonwealth Minister for Schools, Vocational Education and Training, David Kemp when he said:

> The work of teachers themselves in the later years of schooling is made significantly more difficult when students experience literacy problems. A student who is struggling to read along with the class, or unable to spell, quickly loses concentration and self esteem. It is frequently the students with literacy problems who 'play the fool', which not only further impedes their own learning, but disrupts the rest of the class as well. A downward spiral of behavioural problems leading to the early abandonment of formal schooling is the result.

In this ministerial scenario, the adolescent – as 'fool,' disruptor and dropout – stands as an embodiment of the failure of early years schooling to prevent problems and address risk in literacy. In a related way, historical studies of youth have noted how 'moral panics' about young people since the 1950s have in part been tied to the kinds of texts they accessed – eg, comics, TV, movies, novels, websites – and the requirement of schooling to respond to the dangers . Such work provided the starting point for my study – to consider the forms this tying together of literacy, adolescence and schooling has taken historically and the conditions that have made such a linkage thinkable.

My study is a genealogy which involves a process of working with a problematisation as it is currently constituted and tracing the history of its transformation and its emergence. The problematisation that is the focus of this study is the linking of the English and literacy curriculum to the 'risks' and 'dangers' of adolescence.

In this paper, I focus on my historical investigations into the education of adolescents before they were generally known by that label and before the term literacy had strong currency. This is the aspect of the study where I am considering the emergence of the problematisation to consider what disparate elements, ways of thinking and acting were available to make it possible to see adolescence as a problem in relation to literacy and schooling. This is not to argue that I am investigating the 'source' of the issue, rather it is to say I am studying the way that disparate elements may have been cobbled together to

make such a linkage possible and, also, that other linkages were possible and were attempted.

One of the methodological challenges of the study has been to think about adolescence, not as the basis for a narrative about the development post-primary education, but as an historical problem in its own right. In doing this, I am picking up on Foucault's call to:

> ... dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself, that's to say, to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework. And this is what I would call genealogy, that is, a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history.

I examine adolescence as an artifact of various projects and technologies at different times and places. Following Rose I regard this as an investigation of practices and techniques that have served to fabricate the adolescent in relation to particular objectives. The practices and techniques which are the focus of this study are those connected with the human technologies of schooling and the English/Literacy curriculum. As is shown in the diagram the adolescent is considered as a subject contingent on both schooling and the curriculum and standing in reciprocal relation to each.

Rose suggests that a 'genealogy of subjectification' needs to focus on the "*practices* that locate human beings in particular 'regimes of the person.'" and suggests five 'pathways' along which a study might proceed. They are to consider:

1. *Problematisations* - where how and by whom aspects of the human are rendered problematic?
2. *Technologies* – the means and programs developed to govern, shape humans
3. *Authorities* - those who can speak the truth about human problems
4. *Teleologies* – the forms of life which are the ideals, exemplars or aims for practices and programs for working on humans
5. *Strategies* – procedures for regulating humans that are linked to wider political, moral, social objectives and domains

In this paper I provide a brief survey of the practices in relation to the first of these pathways - considering how the adolescent in the first decades of the twentieth century in South Australia came to be seen as problematic. In doing this I will refer to aspects of the other pathways without providing a comprehensive discussion of each. I concentrate on the field of education as the

site for these practices and the discourses that constitute adolescence in relation to that field. The major source of data is the *Education Gazette* (hereafter the *Gazette*), published by the Education Department of South Australia. The *Gazette* was produced monthly and forwarded to every teacher in the state. It contained, among other things, extracts from conference speeches, announcements of regulations, articles, extracts from inspectors' reports, tips and hints for teachers, official statistics and lists, curriculum statements, and reports of teacher association meetings. In addition to the *Gazette*, I have used 'official' statements of policy such as the education regulations as well as the courses of instruction in various subjects and for different levels of schooling. My core data consisted of these materials from 1900 to 1920, with necessary excursions before (from 1875 when free state primary schooling was established) and after these dates (up to the 1930s).

The first decade of the twentieth century saw the establishment of the first state high school in Adelaide. It was a period when there was much debate and discussion about what to do about the older child who was now staying on at primary school beyond the Class IV compulsory standard or who was leaving school once they turned 13 to go into work in a changing employment landscape. This was a period immediately following Federation in Australia, when international competition and comparison of the English/ Australian experience with Germany and other European states, and the United States in the fields of commerce, industry and education were common. At this time the centrality of education to national aspirations was an core assumption that was ritualistically deployed in any address to teachers or discourse on the state of education or the nation.

In this context the *Gazette* offered a cornucopia of questions, concerns, hopes, aspirations and fears that were expressed about young people and related to their education. The term 'adolescence' first appears in my data in 1908 when it used twice at the annual conference of the Public School Teachers' Union where the Director of Education reported on his visit to Europe and North America which focussed in part on post-primary education in those places.

> [W]hat strikes one most throughout Europe and America are the many evidences of the realization of the immense significance of the adolescent period in the development of both boy and girl. This stage of human life has of late been studied with more scientific accuracy and more zeal than ever before. Dr Stanley Hall, in his book on "Adolescence, its Psychology and Relation to Crime, Religion, and Education," Says - "Powers and faculties essentially non-existent before are now born, and of the older instincts and impulses some are reinforced and gently developed, while others become subordinate, so that new relations are established and the ego finds a new centre." (1908 August, EG, p.207)

Hall's influential text on the scientific study of adolescence had been published in the United States in 1904. However, adolescence or the adolescent were not the only labels given to young people of this age. Other terms I found in the *Gazette* in relation to this older child included:

- older bŏy/pupil (most years)
- Class IV/V pupil (students aged around 11-13) (most years)
- youth (most years)

- juvenile (1900)
- truants (1900)
- larrikins (1905)
- teens (1906)
- an 'uncontrollable' 1906
- street urchins (1908)
- anaemic, nervy, round shouldered girls and boys (1913)

- the boy who ... does not go on to high school (1914)
- hooligan (1914)

Occasionally the period of what would now be called adolescence was characterised:

- a troublesome and dangerous period (1911)
- golden period (1909)
- storm and stress (1910)
- awkward age (1910)

As can be seen from these lists, the period of adolescence was more frequently marked in the negative than the positive - something noted by Rose as common in the development of practices that come to shape human subjects. Notions of normality, their accompanying grids of specification and the 'technologies' that shape human subjectivity, typically have been developed out of a concern with the 'improper', the 'delinquent', the 'dis-eased' and this is a theme evident in the problematisations I identified in the data. Overall, there were six interrelated fields where the adolescent was rendered as a problem or around which anxieties and aspirations were clustered. They were:

1. popular culture
2. the street
3. the city
4. employment and work
5. the management of freedom
6. the British 'race'

Popular culture

Popular culture represented a site beyond the control of the key institutions of the State – the school, the family, the church and the workplace. The advancements in manufacturing and technology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that made the production of text and image more efficient, meant that entertainment became cheap and widely available.

> ... with the advent of the cheap music hall and the still cheaper picture-house. the sensation has gone beyond such control; our children and youths have now full licence to receive all the harm that can be got from sitting idly to gaze at dramatic displays. We are compelled to help them to better ways by studying the nature of dramatic impulse, by transferring them, in fact as well as in fancy, from the pit to the stage. Only then can we create within them a force of self-control which will enable them to rise superior to the banalities of cheap sensations. (1914 November, EG, p.320)

Here the pedagogical implication is that students become producers of drama themselves as a means for training self-control – a way for schools to reach into that formerly unsupervised field of the movie house. Of great concern were the texts and magazines that were available through popular culture. Inspector Nicolle, talking to a teachers' association on the West Coast of the state predicted that:

> The time was coming when the gap between leaving school and finding employment would be bridged. The boys who got on were not those who spent their time devouring flippant literature or learning to smoke the abominable cigarette but those who reserved themselves for the higher destinies of life. (1910 April, EG, p.119)

Such 'flippant' literature could be seen as a marker of an illegitimate taste and a danger to the literary sensibilities that were the object of the reading curriculum of the period. In 1907 this extract from the memoirs of John Kerr was presented in the Gazette under the heading, 'Gleanings:'

> Here a protest against certain kinds of reading is not out of place. There are some that are neither morally nor intellectually good. I have a strong conviction that the "penny dreadfuls" and some of even the higher-priced periodicals (containing little else than sensational and impossible adventures) which are issues weekly or monthly from the press, can scarcely fail to create an appetite for exciting and highly-spiced reading to which literature of a higher, more useful, and, except to a diseased taste, intrinsically more interesting kind will appeal in vain. The boy or girl who between the ages of sixteen and twenty has gone through a course of this sensational rubbish, will be with difficulty brought back to a state of mind which can enjoy the beauty, pathos, and truthfulness of such writers as Scott, Thackeray, and Dickens. The result must be a waste of valuable time and a debauching of literary taste. (1907 July, EG, p. 168)

Here we see the connection between concerns about young people and the English subjects which can be related to the connections between adolescents, schooling and literacy noted in the introduction to this paper. At this time the term 'literacy' was not in common use. It appears only four times in my core data, the first in 1904 - and each of those uses is in the negative - as 'illiteracy.' Interestingly, in that first use, illiteracy is tied to the innovations of the 'New Education' arising from the pedagogical philosophies of Herbart, Pestalozzi, Froebel - German educators. Writing back to his Director of Education of his experiences of education in the United States, a Victorian teacher noted:

> Illiteracy has sprung up like a crop of weeds in the soil so richly fertilized by German ideas. (1904, June EG, p.83)

As the quotation from Kerr's memoirs typifies, what might today be called issues around literacy, were more likely in the early twentieth century to be discussed in relation to the English subjects: 'reading,' 'writing,' 'spelling,' 'grammar,' etc - and in relation to literary knowledge and sensibilities . The discussions of these matters in the *Gazette* show that work around the English subjects was seen as central to the mission of the public school and a prime means of shaping the citizen in the making. It was unsurprising then, that issues related to the English subjects were connected to discussions of the older child and that the kinds of texts that young people were reading (and viewing) were the object of concern.

These were not the only concerns, however, other sites of popular culture were also mentioned. In 1927, a school inspector was to cite the movies and 'sea-beaches' as problem sites, especially given the 'want' of parental control. The lack of control, care or concern of certain parents was frequently deployed in justifications for curriculum innovations or pedagogical practices - because even the site of the family could not trusted to provide the appropriate moral training to deal with the challenge of the popular. Similarly sport could be seen as a problem and as evidence of a lack of spiritual interest in the community as noted in a speech to the Public Teachers' Union by J. A. Schulz, the principal of the University Training College.

> Such critics tell us that our schools do not appear to be very successful in developing enduring interests. They point to the thousands of youths lounging about street corners whose souls respond to no higher interests than those relating to the latest sporting events. And the critics lead us yet further and point out to us the shallowness and fewness of higher spiritual interests of so many people in all classes of the community. (1911 August, EG, p.198)

The street

Schulz' speech above usefully illustrates the way that popular culture as a field beyond the control of the State and church was tied to the site of the 'street.' The street was the site most frequently mentioned in the data as a problem in relation to the adolescent. For example, it was mentioned four times in 1901 – in an inspector's report, the report to the Minister of Education by the Board of Education and in two speeches to teachers at the annual conference of the Public Teachers' Union. Inspector Smyth, in his annual report for 1900, noted the fine work of the Port Adelaide Institute to "foster a taste for reading and literature among the senior pupils of our schools." (1901 March, EG, p.53) He went on to urge the extension of such work to 'large centres' and that it should include young people no longer attending school. He claims:

> In addition to being instrumental in giving a healthy stimulus for occupying and improving the mind, it would help to mitigate the tendency of aimlessly strolling up and down the streets after dark, which now, unfortunately, is far too prevalent. (1901 March, EG, p.53)

The street signified that space beyond the reach of the state and represented the breakdown of the ability or willingness of the family to properly supervise the older boy (the gendered form is deliberate here). The place of the girl is assumed to be in the home – and it is in her, properly trained in keeping house, that a remedy may be found in running a home from which the young would not wish to escape to the amusements of the street (Board of Inspectors, 1901 October, EG, p.122). In the early 1900s, when there was so much discussion about the need for schooling beyond the age of compulsion (students could leave when they were 13, or before if they passed the compulsory standard), the street came to be seen as a kind of no-man's-land for young boys between the school and the decaying influence of the family. Inspector Smyth, lamenting the 'elasticity' of the conditions of compulsory schooling in South Australia (students only had to attend school a minimum of 35 days each quarter), put these together:

> The following are some of the evils which the present condition of things engenders - Laxity of parental control; lack of reverence and obedience on the part of the children ; want of interest by the parents in the future well-being of their offspring ; aimless wandering about the streets by children after reaching of 13, or even still younger by those who have passed the simple requirements of the compulsory standard. (1904 September, EG, p.137)

It was in relation to the street that the term 'illiteracy' was employed in 1907 (August EG, p.182) by the Director of education who reported the "fear … that we have in our midst numbers of children, who are growing up wholly illiterate, untrained and uncontrollable." Literateness, or more commonly, literary taste was often used as a marker of proper citizenship for the adolescent which the

school could supply and the street, through its cheap pleasures, would allow to 'waste' away the longer the child was away from the elevating influence of the school. Thus the street operated as an empty signifier onto which many kinds of moral debasement could be written and which subsequently could be used to argue for the extension of the age of compulsion for both the boys who might inhabit the streets and the girls who might keep them away. Inspector McBride illustrates the line of the argument that was so frequently used.

> I hold strongly that a child should not be permitted to leave school before he is 14 years of age. Between 14 and 18 his character is being formed; therefore every possible means should be taken by the State to give him a chance to become a good patriot and a useful, self-respecting citizen. He should be required to join the cadet corps, to attend continuation classes and lectures, to cultivate music or some other art, to become a member of a literary society. I am sure that if these things had been done in the past we should not have to deplore the inordinate love for pleasure, drunkenness, betting, street-walking, &c. to which far too many of our young men are addicted. Something should also be done for the girls. The future of our Australian nation depends very largely on the education which they receive after leaving the elementary school. (1910 June, EG, p.151)

This argument was also extended to the notion that schools should develop in young people 'enduring interests' which would act as a kind of moral prophylactic against the streets and popular culture – this would become an argument for the promotion of English, and reading of certain kinds of literature in particular, as a means to this end.

The city

Another site of concern around adolescents was the 'city' and in some cases these concerns connected with those already discussed in relation to the 'street.' The city could be presented, for example, and borrowing from British work on child rescue and the problems of overcrowded industrial urban environments, as a risk to the health and well-being of the young. An article entitled 'Growth and development of the child' by Dr. R.S. Rogers was reproduced in the September 1907 Gazette and contained a long description of the deterioration of the British nation through the effects of urban living. Not only did the poor conditions of the city lead to ill-health, it lead to the flight of the more 'reputable' classes with a consequent moral vacuum.

> The natural corollary to such conditions, the more reputable class of citizens endeavour to live out of town, thus removing their beneficial influence and example from the ignorant portion of the population, who regard with a lenient eye the vices of themselves and their neighbours. Under these circumstances drink and other vicious habits, on the part of the parents as well as the undeveloped youth contribute in no small measure to the stunted growth of the city-bred. (1907 September, EG, p.209)

In addition, the city contained the lures of the street. The Governor of South Australia, noted in his speech to teachers in 1912 (August, EG, p.187) that money, which employment at the age of 13 year could provide, acted as a "baited trap" for the moral, intellectual and physical well-being of the young who might seek to spend that money on the street.

More often, however, the concern about the city in the Gazette was related to the future of the nation including the need to populate the uninhabited centre of the continent and the need to maintain a healthy rural economy. The question was, how could young people be kept in rural areas or encouraged to go there to live and work?

> A problem which was causing a great deal of anxious thought among Australian statesmen to-day was that of populating the empty spaces of our nation. If in their schools they instilled into the boys a love of their environment; if they pointed out to them the nobility of the life of a farmer, they would have done their share towards the solving of the problem. p.263

Literacy (as both a literary sensibility and as reading and writing) could be both a problem and a solution in relation to this concern. As a problem it could be over-emphasised in schools to the detriment of manual training (drawing, observation, manual work), leading boys away from a desire to work on the land (President of the Public Teachers' Union, 1913 July, EG, p.309). However, it could also be a solution – instilling that sense of adventure and daring required to inspire the young to go out into the harsh hinterland.

> Our race has been pre-eminently an adventurous one, and the Australian branch of such a race should be a daring one. The early settlement of this continent, the wild days of the gold diggings, were undertaken by people who were not afraid to leave a settled land and wrestle with the problems of a new country. We must keep in mind that much of Australia is virtually unknown, and that on that area there must be mineral and other wealth which needs the daring spirit of the past to develop. Is it not the tendency to-day for the people to live the more comfortable and less adventurous life of the large cities on the sea-board? Will not the reading of such books tend to revive the old spirit of our fathers? Will not such literature fire the youthful mind to leave the enervating life of the crowded city and face the strenuous life of the undeveloped interior? This, then, educationally speaking, the reason why the reading of books of adventure should be encouraged. (1907 March, EG, p.79)

I am struck here by the way that the English subjects could be deployed in relation to almost any 'problem' facing the policy-maker in this era – this speaks, perhaps, to a faith in the English subjects, and in literature in particular to do important moral work on the young. It also speaks to the 'generosity' of the subjects and their apparent flexibility to be bent to new needs and aspirations as they appeared. In the case of popular culture, the street and the problems of the

city, English could be seen as an important means of preparing the young and of arming them with the habits and stances to life necessary for the advancement of the young nation.

Employment and work

Another major field of concern about the adolescent was in relation to their employment. Commentators began with an assumption about increasing world competition in trade and industry and, through a chain of arguments arrived at the need for the school to train a new kind of worker – a line of reasoning still familiar today. This version of the argument is from Frank Tate, then Director of Education in Victoria on a visit to South Australia.

> We must recognize that in the struggle for existence, the law of the survival of the fittest applies to nations as to individuals, and that in this struggle for existence, there is not only the struggle for results in the open shock of war, but the less obtrusive but no less intense struggle of peace, the struggle for trade supremacy. We must realize too, how different modern conditions are from those that obtained even fifty years ago, and how facilities for rapid transit and for instantaneous communication have destroyed the monopoly which our world Empire through many years possessed. The history of the past thirty years yields ample evidence that command of markets is to be won by the nation that brings knowledge and training to bear upon the operations of producing and marketing commodities which the world wants, and that it is impossible nowadays to dissociate industrial progress and true educational attainment. (1909 July, EG, p.175)

This argument for the need for training was used by educators to promote the extension of the school leaving age beyond 13 and also for the establishment of specific kinds of subjects and/or schooling for adolescents.

> Allow no boy to leave school before he is 15 years of age unless he is to go immediately into permanent employment; for the present practice o allowing boys to leave school at 13 (or even 12 years 9 months) with the prospect of being employed for only a few days or weeks or months at any odd job that may chance to turn up, wasting the rest of their time in idleness, is on of the most vicious permits that could possibly be granted. For it not only leads to idleness, but it furnishes unique opportunity for forming a habit of idleness, which is not infrequently the beginning of a wasted and ruined life. (1910 July, EG, p.179)

This quote is from the President of the Public School Teachers' Union who also noted the need for 'efficiency' – a common call by those interested in education. Here efficiency meant the establishment of educational structures where a student could be trained in public education from the beginning of school right through to the university, employment, or one of the specialist (art, mining, agricultural) schools being established at this time – each stage leading efficiently

to the next, presumably with appropriate selection mechanisms to steer the student. Such efficiency prevented 'wastage' which arose when students left school and did not use their skills. Linking to a discourse of learning which equated the brain with a muscle – wasting would occur if the brain, or hand, or eye, was not continuously trained – thus the sin of idleness mentioned by the President.

Notions of waste and efficiency were generative of a variety of metaphors for what might happen to adolescents and their education. For example the Governor in 1912 could talk about 'leakage':

> ... the years between 13 and 17 are the point of educational leakage, and that some change is needed in our educational regulations in order to clinch the work done in the elementary day schools, and to provide a sounder foundation for efficiency in skilled trade and in the duties of home life. (1912 August, EG, p.187)

The reference to 'day' schools was possibly because of the planned introduction in the following year of a new kind of Evening Continuation School for young people to allow those who had left school to continue their education. The debate around the kinds and nature of schooling that were suitable for people of this age, the subjects they should learn, and the limits of compulsion were to continue well beyond the scope of this study. In this period, the issue of the forms of schooling which would lead to employment was connected to the English subjects and 'bookishness' in general – in fact, no matter what kind of school was established, English was to act as a core subject . However, English was not always seen as a good thing. There was general criticism of school for its 'bookishness' and the fact that it did not train (working class and rural) students sufficiently in the use of their hands.

> Hence it can be understood that boys and girls whose hands have been left altogether untrained up to the fifteenth year are practically incapable of high manual efficiency ever afterwards. And hence we can comprehend how, by keeping the children of our working classes without hand-training, and in school up to that age, poring over books, by cramming them with decimals and geography, while their hands hang flabby and their fingers grow clumsy and stiff, by withholding them from timely exercise in handicraft, we should be doing our best to abolish the skill of the next generation of our workers. (1908 August, EG, p.207)

On the other hand, the needs of commerce could be cited by one Inspector in recommending that schools – in (hand)writing lessons – move away from tightly controlled copperplate, to the development of "a quick, running, good business hand," in the older pupils (1903 October, EG, p.141), although he may not have had in mind the same working class students referred to above.

As for girls, their 'employment' was to be in the home – and at this same time Domestic Arts education was established in special schools and classes. Also, according to Chief Inspector Maughan, talking of children of this 'awkward age,' girls should be "taught to endure disappointment, to relish the common homely joys of life, to be content and hopeful, as they now rarely are, to avoid extreme fatigue, excitement, or exposure, high diet &c." (1910 July, EG, p.180)

Both employment and work could be presented as both a hope or aspiration for the adolescent as well as a potential danger. The problem with work was that it gave adolescents a wage which could be ill-spent – this was the 'baited trap' cited above in the discussion of the problem of the city. Also, it appear that not all girls were following the path laid out for them and were going into employment. According to Miss Devitt, Mistress of the Domestic Art Centre, Norwood, this led to dangers for the girl herself and for society at large due to the loss of the ideal home environment.

> Her girlhood is spent often in shop or office where she is further removed from the home atmosphere, and where too often she acquires extravagant habits, and undue love of pleasure and a distaste and contempt for household work. (1911 August, EG, p.209)

The management of freedom

One of the main 'problems' with adolescence, it seems, was the imminence of the freedom they would have as they left school and went into employment. The question was how to help them to manage freedom, and to make the appropriate moral and practical choices. This concern could be related to the problem of the adolescent – understood as rebellious, troublesome and boundlessly energetic. Having been described in these terms by Hall there is, by extension, a problem with releasing such a person into the world from schools which have been providing, according to the educators of the time, a relentless, military style of discipline and supervision.

> The individuality of children should not be unduly interfered with, and initiative should be encouraged. I do not regard as entirely good that management which makes it impossible for the child to disobey, where everything is done by rule, and there is little or no opportunity for the learning of self-control. Admirable as this perfect government may seem, we may well dread the time when school is past and youth is freed from its restraint. If he has not learned by experience – and there is no other way – that every sin is inevitably followed by punishment, whether that punishment is directly cognisable or not, and that to avoid the one he must shun the other, he has not learned the elementary incentives to morality. If he has not had the opportunity to offend he cannot have learned the sweetness of self-restraint for the sake of another, or for the better sake of truth itself – in short, he has not learned, in the Herbartian phrase, "to discipline himself." (1903 December, EG, p.161)

The issue of freedom, and its dangers in the hands of the adolescent no longer restrained by school, is brought back into the school by Inspector Maughan in this quotation as a problem and the justification for a new kind of pedagogy. Maughan is a promoter of the 'New Education' (as is evidenced by his citation of Herbart) which emphasised pedagogies which involved students helping themselves and engaging actively in learning through all their senses. These were the 'German ideas' referred to by the Victorian teacher quoted earlier in the paper. In 1907 Maughan, now Acting-Director of Education (EG, p.161), told teachers that "the test of high character is the amount of freedom it will absorb without going to pieces." Still later, in 1917, as Director in his own right, he told teachers that "freedom is the liberty to do as you ought." (EG, p.138) In 1914, Professor Findlay, Professor of Education at Manchester University and author of 'The Principles of Teaching,' toured Australia and the text of one of his speeches – 'Some principles of education reform' – was reproduced in the *Gazette*. Speaking on 'the principle of freedom to the life of the child,' Findlay declared 'the old discipline is dead.' Instead:

> Child Study becomes imperative as soon as we determine to let a child have his own way. The analogy holds again in the sphere of politics. Under a Czardom there is no need for political science, since all subjects do as they are told; freedom introduces variety and variety compels to scientific investigation of principles. So long as parents laid down. So long as parents and teachers laid down an implicit law, which covered the whole duty of the child, there was room for pedagogy. (1914 November, EG, p.320)

Thus allowing freedom inferred a different relationship to the child – away from 'Czardom', towards a scientific study of the child in order to discover principles of their development and implicit laws about their duties. Findlay went on to discuss the work of Froebel and of Hall and to summarise their work on stages of development finishing with the stage of adolescence. He urged that the state not "leave youth without guidance and control, subject merely to the discipline that is afforded by factory, or farm, or warehouse (p.321). He concluded that secondary education must be "democratized and put at the service of youth in all ranks of society." (p.321)

Findlay's reference to democracy is not at all unusual in the discussions of adolescents and the management of their freedom. In these discussions, adolescents were characterised as citizens-in-the-making. Concerns about democracy seemed to come from a number of sources – the main ones being the recent introduction of universal suffrage in Australia and the Federation of the Australian Commonwealth. Also detectable were concerns about German militarism, and the rise of unionism and worker's rights leading up to World War 1. In this context, there was clearly anxiety about what would happen in a society that put the power of the vote into the hands of all the classes.

For example, Sir Langdon Bonython, in his opening of the Teachers' conference in 1906 stated that:

> Free education should accompany universal suffrage, and it was in the combination of these two things that they found ground for confidence. Surely they might trust the study common-sense of an educated people to act with prudence and with justice (Cheers) By an educated people he meant a people who had been trained to think for themselves–to work out their own conclusions, and not to accept opinions secondhand. p.161 (1906 July, EG, p.161)

That same year (1906 July EG, p.162) Inspector Burgan's annual report highlighted the 'working power of youth' but bemoaned their lack of understanding of the 'duties of citizenship.' Thus anxiety about the duties of citizenship were translated into a task of the school and placed in relation to the management of freedom with responsibility.

The British 'race'

I had expected, when I began this study, that Australian Federation would play an important part in my analysis of the shaping of adolescence and in the shaping of the English curriculum. As I have said above, Federation did seem to provide a space for issues of democracy and freedom to be aired but not, as I had anticipated, in relation to being an Australian citizen. Instead, it was the construct of the British race – its preservation and its future – which was to be connected with the adolescent in these times. The Director of Education, Alfred Williams addressed teachers at a 'School of Instruction' he and his Inspectors convened in Mt Gambier in April 1906 and one of his themes was the need for secondary education to give 'the boy of ability' the chance to develop his 'heart and soul.' This, he said, was:

> ... the great argument for State Education. All progress of the race had come by replacing bad tendencies and inclinations with good ones, and letting the good ones grow into the heart and life of the individual; and if only two or three children could be saved from becoming waste products, the lives of their teachers would not have been lived in vain. The mission of the public school was to turn out boys and girls who would not be afraid of work, who would face their tasks resolutely, and would play those characteristics which had made the British race supreme the world over. (1906 April, EG, pp.124-5)

Britishness tended to be hailed as a heritage to be preserved and as an aspiration for the youth of the nation. It could also be tied to the notion of 'race' as was exemplified in the Governor's address to children on Empire Day in 1915.

> ...England, which is the old word meaning the British Empire, and the men she has sent out into the world - of which your forefathers were splendid examples – has proved herself able to produce men capable above all others to rule over

> every type of race. ... You are all fortunate children to belong to the race to which you do belong, and you must remember that pride of race involves obligations. (1915 June, EG, pp.116-117)

Coincidentally, this address preceded in the June edition of the 1915 Gazette a description of the landing of the Australian troops at the Dardanelles - Anzac Day - which the Prime Minister had suggested be read to every Australian child. It is only after this date, that a sense of Australian, as opposed to British, citizenship began to be evident in the discourses of education and in the curriculum itself. Up until this time, and to some extent after it, Britishness was established as a kind of ideal form of life - a teleological motif - that could position adolescents as part of the progress of the race.

Connecting the problematisations to other pathways in the formation of adolescence

The six fields of problematisation formed themes that ran across the data on adolescence in the *Gazette*. They also were significant justifications for calls to action in relation to young people - they created a space into which different solutions could be brought and where different aspirations could be applied.

That these solutions and aspirations were connected with education and schooling is not surprising given the source of the data. Who were the *authorities* that, through the *Gazette*, could render aspects of the life of young people problematic and proclaim the ideals and strategies to address these problems? These authorities were overwhelmingly officials of the State in the form of the Director of Education, his Inspectors and related professionals such as principals of teacher training colleges and university educators. Their political masters - politicians and governors, tended to reflect the concerns and ideals put forward by their officials - indeed, many speeches by such figures were begun with statements of deferral to such 'experts' in education. Occasionally, the words of medical experts and religious leaders were evident in the material but these comments tended to be contained within their 'specialisations.' Occasionally the voices of others, such as employers and the public were deployed by these commentators, but did not speak directly to teachers through the pages of the *Gazette*.

The six fields of problematisation described in this paper can be seen as linked in some important ways to *strategies* for the regulation of the population. The first three: popular culture, the street and the city, I have argued, were sites where the institutions of the state and the church were seen to have limited control. They were connected sites which could represent danger, temptation and risk to health and moral well-being. The dangers of these sites were used as the basis of an argument for extending schooling beyond the age of 13 and to reform schooling so that it better trained students practically and morally, to resist their allure. The threat of popular culture, the street and the city could became the basis of

strategies of social regulation through the extension of schooling to a new segment of the population.

However this was not just a case of social regulation. Schooling could also be called upon to offer ideals, exemplars and aims for the young people who would stay longer at school – *teleologies* that included the adventure of the country on the one hand, and the pride of Britishness on the other. Similarly the involvement of schooling in training the young for skilled jobs in secondary and primary industries for boys and in the home for girls, was offered as the best hope for a happier and more uplifting life for young people, a better trained worker for employers and a disciplined citizenry.

To deliver on this promise, schooling had to train young people to manage the freedom that would come with work and a wage and contact with the street and city – and this is a problematisation that seems to work across the fields of concern described here. There seemed to be a constant struggle with how best to provide freedom for students in school, while maintaining appropriate supervision and control. The old technologies of schooling – a drill and memory based curriculum, with a military style discipline – could not, it seems, provide the kind of freedom and training in self-discipline required.

This has led me to think about the New Education, and the central role that the English subjects would play in it, as a period of experimentation in *human technologies* that might provide such forms of training. This is an aspect of the study on which there is no space to report here – a focus on the English curriculum as a set of practices and techniques for the training of a newly disciplined subject. I am not only interested in English in this regard. In the *Gazette*, there is a great deal of space given to other subjects which would take on the challenge of the 'principle of the freedom of the child' and the production of the citizen-in-the-making – including drawing, nature study, and physical training.

A challenge for curriculum historical research is to think about how subjects such as English/literacy may have been linked to wider discourses and problematisations that constitute adolescence. This survey of the problematisations related to adolescence in the first decades of the twentieth century provides some useful starting points in that process especially in identifying the management of freedom as a key challenge for the education of adolescents at that time. It is suggestive of a number of considerations to take to the historical study of school subjects such as:

- how freedom is deployed in their rationale
- the practices and techniques that are used to incite, supervise and correct freedom

- the subject positions made available to young people in the name of freedom
- the consequent role(s) of the teacher.

Such analysis may help answer the question of how school subjects such as English and literacy give adolescents 'the liberty to do as they ought?'

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